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Japanese Immigration

ITS STATUS IN CALIFORNIA

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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

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To Whom It May Concern:

Dr. Yamato Ichihashi is preparing a pamphlet on the Japanese question on the Pacific Coast. I wish to say in his behalf that he is entirely competent to give a just and thorough treatment of this subject. He is a graduate of Stanford University, where he was for a time assistant in the Department of Economics. He spent two years at Harvard University, where he was appointed Henry Bromfield Rogers Memorial Fellow. He has a very thorough knowledge of America, and American conditions, as well as of the purposes, ambitions and resources of his own country, and his essay should be of the greatest value in bringing about a better understanding where there is every reason for friendship and none whatever for suspicion and enmity.

Very truly yours,

David Starr Jordan.

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Japanese Immigration

Its Status in California

INTRODUCTORY.

This booklet was first printed in a pamphlet form early in the spring of 1913. Since then a significant event occurred—the enactment of "an alien land law" by the State of California. That law doubtless constitutes an important culminating point in the history of anti-Japanese agitation on the Pacific Coast, and therefore, a brief statement concerning it has been added to the present edition of the pamphlet which, as a whole, has been revised, enlarged and brought up to date so far as data permitted it.

In 1907 an "informal agreement" was entered into between the American and Japanese governments, whereby immigration to this country, of laborers directly from Japan as well as migration of Japanese from Hawaii, Canada and Mexico are prohibited. And notwithstanding a most effective administration by Japan of the said agreement, agitation against Japanese has not ceased. It is vigorous as ever, if not more so than it was before the restriction was put in practice.

In view of such a situation, it seemed advisable that the intelligent Americans should be furnished with facts pertaining to Japanese immigration and its present status, so that they themselves can better judge the whole question rather than to have it interpreted by the Asiatic Exclusion League and other interested persons.

The pamphlet has been prepared with such an end in view, and it purposes to be no more than an unbiased statement of the more salient facts relative to Japanese immigration and its present status in this State of California.

As to the sources relied upon, I may be permitted to say, that first of all I have taken a keen but objective interest in the question ever since 1900, when it seemed to assume an acuteness. Added to this fact, I worked as a "Special Agent" for the United States Immigration Commission of 1907. That Commission made an exhaustive inquiry into the general question of immigration throughout the country. My particular function as its agent was to look into the Japanese immigration situation here in the State, and thus I had an ample opportunity to familiarize myself with the subject. The results of that investigation are now made public. In addition to this information, I have relied upon such sources as the Annual Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, the Biennial Report of the State Bureau of Labor, and not the least in importance, the facts gathered by a "Special State Investigation of 1909," which also made an extensive study of the "Japanese Question." Furthermore, there recently appeared several books dealing with the subject, the most notable ones being "The Japanese Problem in the United States," by Professor H. A. Millis, and "The American Japanese Problem," by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick. These books have also been freely consulted.

PART I.

History and Extent of Japanese Immigration

Just when Japanese began to come to this country is pretty difficult to determine. It is certain, however, that under the rule of the Tokugawa dynasty, emigration from Japan was prohibited under pain of death, or more precisely since the adoption by it of the policy of exclusion and inclusion in 1638 until 1868. In other words, between 1638 and 1868 there was no emigration. True, in 1854, Japan entered into a commercial treaty with the United States, and subsequently with the various European powers, but that fact did not alter the Japanese policy in regard to emigration. In 1868 the Tokugawa government was overthrown and the present Imperial government was simultaneously installed. The new government was radical, indeed, revolutionary. Thus, among other things, emigration was no longer put under the ban. It became possible, though emigration of laborers was not legalized till 1885.

Yet, curiously enough, we learn from the Report of the United States Treasury Department for 1893, that between 1861 and 1870, 218 Japanese came to this country. How these Japanese might have reached America may be learned from the facts that follow. As early as 1841 three Japanese fishermen were blown to sea and were drifted to the American coast. In America they were said to have remained ten years. Joseph Heco, a boy apprentice aboard a Japanese vessel plying between Osaka and Yedo (Tokyo), which was wrecked, was rescued along with other members of the crew and brought over to America. That was in 1850. Heco had remained in the United States for more than a decade and had had romantic experiences. These are interestingly told in his "Narrative of a Japanese." The book incidentally gives accounts of innumerable cases of Japanese cast-

offs rescued and brought over, just as he was, to this country between 1850 and 1864. In 1866 there came to New York two of Dr. Verbeck's students, the veteran Dutch missionary to Japan. In 1868 some forty Japanese were brought to California by a Dutchman named Schnael (?). Dr. Nitobe, in his "Intercourse Between the United States and Japan," gives evidences of Japanese migration from Hawaii to the continent as early as 1870.

According to the reports of the United States Superintendent and, later of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration, the number of Japanese immigrants and that of entire immigration to this country since 1869 was as follows:

Year.	No. of Japanese Immigrants.	No. of Total Immigrants.
1869	63	352,000
1870	48	387,000
1871	78	321,000
1872	17	404,000
1873	9	459,000
1874	21	313,000
1875	3	227,000
1876	4	169,000
1877	7	141,000
1878	2	138,000
1879	4	177,000
1880	4	457,000
1881	11	669,000
1882	5	788,000
1883	27	603,000
1884	20	518,000
1885	49	395,000
1886	194	334,000
1887	229	490,000
1888	404	546,000
1889	640	444,000
1890	691	455,000
1891	1,136	560,000
1892	1,498	579,000
1893	1,380	439,000
1894	1,931	285,000
1895	1,150	258,000
1896	1,110	343,000
1897	1,526	230,000
1898	2,230	229,000
1899	3,395	311,000
1900	12,626	448,000
1901	4,908	487,000
1902	5,325	648,000
1903	6,990	857,000
1904	7,771	812,000
1905	4,319	1,026,000

CONTINUED

Year.	No. of Japanese Immigrants	No. of Total Immigrants.
1906	5,178	1,100,000
1907	9,948	1,285,000
1908	7,250	782,000
1909	1,593	751,000
1910	1,552	1,041,000
1911	4,282	878,000
1912	5,358	838,172
1913	6,771	1,197,892
1914	8,462	1,218,480

In other words, the respective number of their immigration by decade was as follows:

Decade	No. of Japanese Immigrants.	No. of Total Immigrants.
1861-1870	218	2,314,000
1871-1880	149	2,812,000
1881-1890	2,270	5,246,000
1891-1900	27,982	3,687,000
1901-1910	54,834	8,785,000
1911-1914	24,873	4,131,000
Total	100,858	26,997,000

The above figures concerning Japanese immigration do not include those who emigrated from Hawaii after its annexation, and before the enforcement of the gentlemen's agreement of 1907. Thus it is proper to add to the total 100,858, 25,000 more or thereabouts to cover the extent of that migration. Even on such a basis it is clearly manifest that Japanese immigration has formed but an insignificant portion of general immigration.

In the earlier years, in fact, till we come to 1886, their annual immigration was less than one hundred. Since then their number gradually increased. This was due to two causes: Japan legalized emigration of her laborers in 1885 on one hand, and the demand for their labor in California increased as the result of the Chinese exclusion laws, and of the rapid industrial expansion on the Coast. Thus in 1891 the number of Japanese immigrants reached over 1,000 for the first time. About the same number immigrated for the following six years. In 1898 it reached over 2,000, and two years later it jumped to 12,000. However, that unusual number was never since exceeded. During 1907 nearly 10,000 arrived, and this was undoubtedly caused by the anticipation of the agreement of that year, which, as remarked before,

practically put a stop to immigration of Japanese laborers. And when that agreement became effective the number instantly dropped as is indicated by the table above. A slight gain since 1911 is not due to the coming of "labor" immigrants but to that of "non-labor" immigrants. This will be made clear in our discussion of the character of Japanese immigrants.

Next, a word may be said as to the extent of Japanese departure from this country. The Immigration Bureau made no record of returning aliens until very recently. Fortunately, however, the Japanese government has been recording the returning immigrants. According to this authority, and since 1908, according to the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, the number of Japanese who had annually returned from the United States and the percentage these formed of the number who had emigrated to the same since 1886 was as follows: [1]

Year.	Number	Percentage.
1886	70	36.0
1887	65	28.3
1888	67	16.5
1889	76	11.8
1890	73	10.5
1891	168	14.7
1892	343	16.2
1893	356	21.6
1894	391	22.4
1895	347	72.2
1896	367	33.0
1897	388	25.4
1898	671	30.0
1899	833	29.2
1900	1,006	15.2
1901	866	17.5
1902	1,013	20.0
1903	1,028	14.8
1904	922	12.0
1905	1,791	49.3
1906	2,881	33.3
1907	1,903	18.6
1908	4,796	50.2
1909	5,004	205.3
1910	5,024	193.3
1911	5,869	137.0
1912	5,437	100.1
1913	5,647	82.2
1914	6,300	74.4

[1] The figures for 1886-1907 compiled from those figures given in Imperial Statistical Annuals, while those for 1908-1914 from the figures given in the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

The figures for the years before 1908 may not be as accurate as those for the years since. Still the writer is inclined to think that they may be used to indicate the phenomenon in a general way. Accordingly, before the gentlemen's agreement became effective, about 20 per cent. of the emigrants had annually returned home. The very high percentage for 1895 was due to non-emigration because of the Chinese-Japanese War, rather than to the actual number returning. However, the similarly high percentage for 1905 was partly caused by the large number returning and partly by the fall in the number emigrating. The Japanese-Russian War was wholly responsible for the situation. The curious situation that has obtained since 1908 is entirely due to the effective administration of the agreement of 1907. That agreement put a stop to Japanese immigration to, but it left Japanese emigration free from, this country, and the number departing have often exceeded the number arriving. In other words, the Japanese population in the United States has actually decreased.

Having examined the extent of Japanese immigrating and departing, we will now direct our attention to their number residing in the country. According to the United States Census the number of Japanese residents was as follows:

Year	Number	Year	Number
1870	55	1900	24,326
1880	148	1910	72,157
1890	2,039		

Accordingly, there were only 55 Japanese residents in the whole country in 1870. That number increased to 148 in 1880. A decade later it rose to 2,039. During the following decade Japanese immigration was quite extensive, and consequently the number residing in the country increased also. There were as many as 24,000 in 1900. But the growth during the last decade was more significant. The number jumped to 72,157. Of this number, Professor Millis says: "There is good reason to believe, however, that the enumeration was by no means complete and that the true number was several thousand larger than the number recorded." [1]

[1] Millis, The Japanese Problem in the United States, p. 1.

PART II.

Character of Japanese Immigrants

Under this caption we will examine the occupation, the sex and age distribution, the financial condition and the educational status of Japanese immigrants, for they will enable us to get a true picture of their character. We will begin with an analysis of their occupation. According to the Japanese official statistics the occupational distribution of the Japanese immigrants when they left Japan was as follows:[1]

Year	Number						
	Students	Merchants	Farmers & Fisherman	Artisans	Laborers	Others	Total
1886.....	237	38	.....	3	44	10	332
1887.....	267	96	.....	.....	88	9	461
1888.....	196	171	.....	13	184	35	599
1889.....	224	150	.....	5	350	29	757
1890.....	198	172	.....	15	184	42	1,461
1891.....	232	275	1	33	246	674	1,461
1892.....	239	373	860	427	291	154	2,344
1893.....	220	492	404	147	340	375	1,978
1894.....	182	236	593	94	254	138	1,497
1895.....	193	297	30	5	424	100	1,049
1896.....	211	360	8	23	1,066	96	1,764
1897.....	244	390	527	84	6,008	102	1,945
1898.....	325	805	135	11	1,287	373	2,936
1899.....	481	1,882	87	170	3,742	580	6,938
1900.....	437	2,159	1,463	1,540	4,366	597	10,562
1901.....	508	627	39	12	83	717	1,986
1902.....	1,283	1,531	96	51	249	1,886	5,096
1903.....	1,340	1,745	87	50	223	1,767	5,215
1904.....	1,267	1,009	.....	43	261	1,010	3,490
1905.....	868	613	167	17	263	1,376	3,124
1906.....	2,821	1,215	1,046	22	462	2,896	8,466
1907.....	2,972	1,246	1,571	20	664	3,155	9,618
1908.....	382	592	837	28	534	639	3,826

[1] Compiled from the figures given in Imperial Statistical Annuals of Japan, 1886-1910, inclusive. There is a discrepancy between these figures and those given on page 4, and it can be explained only by the difference of the sources used.

The following two tables, based upon the American official statistics, show a detailed occupational distribution of Japanese admitted to, and departed from, continental United States, from 1908 to 1914, inclusive: [1]

Table A, Fiscal Years 1908 to 1911.

Occupation	1908		1909		1910		1911	
	Admitt'd	Depart'd	Admitt'd	Depart'd	Admitt'd	Depart'd	Admitt'd	Depart'd
Actors	54	6	10	20	27	14	16	13
Clergy	37	18	14	25	21	18	20	24
Government officials	45	34	45	42	28	68	51	56
Teachers	50	16	24	15	24	41	56	41
Other professional	70	143	65	94	162	83	101	151
Clerks	154	66	56	64	109	42	87	66
Farmers	518	698	69	492	95	551	388	669
Merchants	951	578	274	552	291	687	304	564
Restaurant and hotel keepers	130	70	64	67	68	116	52	145
Students	2,018	153	255	239	288	260	.....	.....
No occupation, including women and children	1,299	832	690	747	695	889	2,400	1,188
Not stated	177	119	153	684	85	48	75	21
Total non-laborers, according to Rule 21 j	5,503	2,733	1,719	3,041	1,893	2,817	3,550	2,938
Barbers	28	11	9	12	9	18	22	24
Carpenters	27	21	12	25	7	17	19	35
Tailors	36	38	5	7	8	11	13	18
Other artisans	99	164	7	66	59	49	57	160
Cooks	96	69	60	148	77	161	.....	.....
Farm laborers	1,031	60	206	246	260	612	281	994
Gardeners	18	10	6	13	5	5	13	12
Laborers	1,153	1,077	245	344	165	1,156	208	1,094
Servants	305	300	114	133	90	112	63	149
Not stated	1,248	313	49	969	25	63	56	445
Total laborers, according to Rule 21 j	4,041	2,063	713	1,963	705	2,207	732	2,931
Total	9,544	4,796	2,432	5,004	2,282	5,024	4,282	5,869

[1] Compiled from the figures given in the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

Table B, Fiscal Years 1912 to 1914.

Occupation	1912		1913		1914	
Professional	Admitt'd	Depart'd	Admitt'd	Departed	Admitt'd	Depart'd
Actors	23	13	6	7	18	7
Architects	2	3	9	4	3	1
Clergy	22	27	30	19	23	24
Editors	10	13	20	21	30	28
Electricians	3	2	5	5	2	2
Engineers (Professional)	50	51	73	68	53	39
Lawyers	3	3	3	2	3	1
Literary and Scientific persons	17	8	9	5	11	17
Musicians	1			1		1
Officials (Government)	81	62	56	50	52	48
Physicians	15	19	19	18	25	30
Sculptors and Artists	5	16	11	6	7	4
Teachers	49	45	53	40	53	46
Other Professional	20	14	15	15	29	29
Total Professional	301	276	309	259	311	277
Skilled						
Bakers	8	4	6	6	11	6
Barbers and Hairdressers	24	32	33	39	35	43
Blacksmiths	7	1		1	3	
Brewers		3			1	
Butchers						
Cabinet Makers			1			
Carpenters and Joiners	19	13	14	17	22	11
Clerks and Accountants	77	61	78	75	77	61
Dressmakers	3	4	2	2		2
Engineers (locomotive, marine, stationary)	6	3	9	8	13	15
Gardners	16	29	20	37	54	59
Hat and Cap Makers				1		
Iron and Steel Makers		2	3			
Jewelers		2	3	2	5	
Machinists	3	4	5	3	10	5
Mariners	12	9	2	5	32	
Masons	2	4				
Mechanics		1			3	3
Metal Workers			1			
Milliners		2				
Miners	4	17	3	10	15	19
Painters and Glaziers	2	3	2	4	1	
Pattern Makers		1				1
Photographers	1					
Plasterers	4	11	8	10	13	10
Plumbers	1	2		1	1	
Printers	5	4	11	6	3	7
Saddlers and Harness Makers	1					
Seamstresses	5	1	13	1	1	1
Shoemakers	7	12	7	15	7	10
Stokers	3	1				1
Stone Cutters	1					
Tailors	15	32	23	29	31	41
Tinners	1					
Watch and Clock Makers	3	7	1	2		1
Weavers and Spinners	1					
Other Skilled	42	121	56	83	42	79
Total Skilled	273	386	301	357	380	382

Table B, Fiscal Years 1912 to 1914 (Continued)

Occupation	1912		1913		1914	
Miscellaneous	Admitt'd	Depart'd	Admitt'd	Depart'd	Admitt'd	Depart'd
Agents	13	7	17	12	5	18
Bakers	16	15	23	25	20	14
Draymen, Hackmen, Teamsters	8	1	2	.....	2	1
Farm Laborers	425	185	472	227	517	191
Farmers	638	1,631	927	1,886	1,171	1,940
Fishermen	19	31	23	35	67	13
Hotel Keepers	85	143	118	140	163	189
Laborers	285	1,325	542	1,211	862	1,525
Manufacturers	6	4	5	6	4	5
Merchants and Dealers	364	440	483	492	557	528
Servants	79	144	82	78	99	86
Other Miscellaneous	446	214	783	365	831	376
Total Miscellaneous	2,384	4,140	3,477	4,477	4,298	4,882
No Occupation (Including Women and Children)	2,400	635	2,684	554	3,473	758
Grand Total	5,358	5,437	6,771	5,647	4,862	6,300

The first table reveals a striking fact in the history of immigration to the United States, the presence of a large number of students among the Japanese immigrants. For instance, during the first six years, students numbered as many as 1,354, followed by 1,096 laborers and 902 artisans. Nor has legalization of emigration of laborers from Japan in 1885 had any visible effect upon Japanese immigration to America. In fact, till we come to 1896 when the number of labor emigrants reached over 1,000 for the first time, laborers failed to contribute to Japanese immigration to this country. To make this fact plain, I have given below the percentage of the emigrants by occupation for the entire period considered:

Occupation	Percentage.
Merchants	21.5
Laborers	21.4
Students	21.1
Farmers and fishermen	14.1
Artisans	3.8
Others	18.1
Total	100.0

According to the American statistics, which, by the way, show the situation after the gentlemen's agreement became effective, we note that the number of labor immigrants has been greatly curtailed. Note, at the same time, the large number of laborers departing from this country. The table below shows the number of laborers admitted and departed since 1908:

Year.	Admitted.	Departed.
1908	1,153	1,077
1909	245	244
1910	165	1,156
1911	208	1,094
1912	285	1,325
1913	542	1,211
1914	862	1,525

The phenomena are the outcome of the agreement of 1907. It may be interesting to quote what Professor Millis has to say on this point: "Most of the Japanese who came directly to this country were young men. They came seeking opportunities to study, or better opportunities to gain a livelihood than were in prospect at home. They were of course drawn largely from the most intelligent and ambitious of the middle class. Along with these young men came a smaller number of older men who had failed in business or had found farming or wage labor in Japan unattractive. A third element came from Hawaii, where a large percentage of the total number had been drawn from the poorest and most ignorant class. Many of the most ambitious of these, dissatisfied with their lot as poorly paid plantation laborers, availed themselves of the opportunity to come to the mainland. From Mexico came some corresponding closely to the classes arriving from Hawaii, from Canada a few like those immigrating from Japan." [1]

[1] Millis, Ibid., p. 5.

Next, as to the sex distribution among Japanese immigrants. The following table gives the proportion of females among Japanese immigrants since 1886:[1]

Year.	Percentage.	Year.	Percentage.
1886	3.9	1901	6.4
1887	3.4	1902	8.2
1888	9.0	1903	6.6
1889	4.6	1904	6.2
1890	9.0	1905	17.7
1891	9.5	1906	13.6
1892	3.2	1907	15.2
1893	6.2	1908	17.7
1894	5.3	1909	55.3
1895	10.0	1910	38.6
1896	6.7	1911	69.2
1897	7.6	1912	45.3
1898	5.0	1913	40.7
1899	5.8	1914	63.1
1900	3.8		

Accordingly, females formed but a very small portion of Japanese immigrants. In more recent years, however, their percentage has been steadily gaining. The increasing number of women among the immigrants indicates, among other things, a greater tendency among Japanese to settle in this country. Nor need it be feared that the large influx of women will continue indefinitely since immigration of males is restricted. At any rate, according to Professor Millis: "The establishment of homes in this country by a large number of Japanese has been a most important fact. It not only marks the rapid change from migratory labor to a 'settled' occupation, or, more likely, to a farm or business life; it has vitally changed for the better the social life of the Japanese. And along with it has come a new factor of importance in the growth of the Japanese population—the American-born children." [2]

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1 Compiled from the figures given in Imperial Statistical Annuals for 1886-1908, while those for 1909-1914 from the figures given in the Annual Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

2 Millis, Ibid., p. 28.

The age distribution of Japanese immigrants, according to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, was as follows: [1]

Year.	Under 14 Years.	14 to 44 Years.	45 Years. and over.
1902	4.3	94.6	0.9
1903	2.5	96.5	0.9
1904	1.3	96.1	2.5
1905	1,1	96.7	2.8
1906	1.0	97.3	1.2
1907	0.8	98.2	1.0
1908	....	.....	....
1909	4.5	92.4	2.1
1910	....	.....	....
1911	6.5	91.7	1.8
1912	5.3	89.8	4.9
1913	5.2	87.8	7.0
1914	4.8	87.7	7.5

Although the situation has somewhat changed after the agreement of 1907 went into effect, we note that approximately 90 per cent. of Japanese immigrants when admitted into the country were between 14 and 44 years of age. This fact, together with the fact of the small proportion of females, clearly indicates that Japanese here in America are in the stage of greatest productivity. Further, because of their youthful age, Japanese immigrants have been less susceptible to sickness and have been peculiarly free from difficulties, pecuniary or otherwise, so commonly experienced by other immigrant races that sought the American shores.

Before specifically taking up the amount of money brought by Japanese immigrants, it may be interesting to know what has been the general tendency in this regard. According to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the per capita amount of money brought by entire immigrants since 1896 was as follows:

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1896	$11	1904	$26
1897	15	1905	24
1898	17	1906	23
1899	17	1907	20
1900	15	1908	....
1901	15	1909	23
1902	16	1910	....
1903	19	1911	33

1 Compiled from his Annual Report.

There has been then a gradual increase in the per capita

amount of money brought in by immigrants. The table below, which has been simplified from two elaborate ones presented by the Immigration Commission, shows the financial condition as well as the educational status of immigrant aliens at the time of their admission to the United States during the fiscal years 1899 to 1910, inclusive, by race or people: [1]

Race or People.	Average amount of money shown per capita	Per cent of those 14 years or over who could neither read nor write
African	$21.86	19.0
Armenian	23.17	23.9
Bohemian and Moravian	26.94	1.7
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegran	18.14	41.7
Chinese	26.76	7.0
Croatian and Slavonian	14.64	36.1
Cuban	31.84	6.3
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	19.99	41.0
Dutch and Flemish	40.64	4.4
East Indian	60.52	47.2
English	54.09	1.0
Finnish	19.13	1.3
French	54.62	6.3
German	38.84	5.2
Greek	22.07	26.4
Hebrew	12.85	26.0
Irish	24.40	2.6
Italian, North	25.18	11.5
Italian, South	13.34	53.9
Japanese	41.29	24.6
Korean	8.63	38.1
Lithuanian	11.13	48.9
Magyar	14.90	11.4
Mexican	11.09	57.2
Pacific Islander	67.19	24.7
Polish	11.87	35.4
Portuguese	14.66	68.2
Roumanian	15.60	35.0
Russian	19.16	38.4
Ruthenian (Russniak)	12.86	53.4
Scandinavian	22.97	.4
Scotch	49.03	2.7
Slovak	14.08	24.0
Spanish	48.83	14.5
Spanish American	10.43	6.1
Syrian	30.56	53.3
Turkish	30.48	59.5
Welsh	46.25	1.9
West Indian (except Cuban)	54.75	3.2
Other peoples	32.49	44.6
Not specified		7.6
Average	21.57	26.7

[1] See Immigration Commission, Abstract Reports, Vol. I, pp. 103 and 175.

Accordingly, the average for the whole was $21.57, while the per capita amount brought by Japanese immigrants was $41.29. The per capita amount of money brought by Japanese since 1910, was respectively as follows: $40.70 for 1911, $44.22 for 1912, $40.24 for 1913 and $46.16 for 1914.[1] Financially, therefore, Japanese immigrants are on a par with the most well-to-do European immigrants.

As to illiteracy among Japanese immigrants: From the various facts thus far gleaned, especially those relative to their occupation, we would rather expect a low percentage of illiteracy among them. However, the last column of the table just passed by shows that 24.7 per cent. of the Japanese of over 14 years of age could neither read nor write. While this percentage is below that for the average of the entire immigrants, which is 26.7 per cent., it is rather high. The Japanese are superior to the southeastern Europeans and other backward races, but they fall far below the standard of the northwestern Europeans. The situation is hard to explain unless we doubt the accuracy of these statistics, at least so far as Japanese are concerned. Such doubt may be justified on three positive grounds: First, a system of compulsory education has been in force in Japan during the past forty years, and we have already seen that the majority of Japanese immigrants are young men. Second, common laborers formed no more than 21.4 per cent. of the total immigration during the entire period under consideration, and it is unthinkable from what I know that all these laborers should be illiterates. Third, the Immigration Commission found that the literacy among Japanese here in the West compares favorably with that among Europeans in whose nations exist the best systems of education.

But inasmuch as I shall later take up this topic in another connection, I shall here simply present what the census for 1910 has

[1] Compiled from the Annual Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

recently made public. The following table shows the illiteracy of the population of the State of California by races:

Race.		Race.	
Native whites	0.5	Negroes	7.0
Foreign-born whites	10.0	Indians	49.0
Japanese	8.6	Average	3.7
Chinese	15.5		

Further, the composition of these foreign-born whites was as follows:

Race.		Race.	
Germans	14.8	Swedes	5.1
Italians	12.3	Portuguese	4.3
Irish	10.1	French	3.4
English	9.4	Austrians	3.3
Canadians	8.6	Russians	3.2
Mexicans	6.5	Others	18.8

In other words, the percentage of illiteracy among the foreign-born whites in California is higher by 1.4 per cent as compared with that among the Japanese immigrants. Note also the composition of these foreign-born whites. By far the great majority are those from the leading nations of Europe. Yet the percentage of illiteracy among them is high. One of the favorite arguments of anti-Japanese agitators such as "ignorant Jap coolies" has evidently no meaning in the light of the above facts. So much for the facts relating to Japanese immigrants upon their arrival in this country.

PART III.

Geographical Distribution of Japanese Immigrants

The regular American ports of entry for Japanese have been and still are San Francisco, Seattle and Portland, Oregon. But Seattle did not begin to receive Japanese regularly till about 1890, though a few sailors made appearance there as early as in 1879. Neither did Portland receive them till 1895, although it saw the immigration of 200 Japanese in 1887. Most Japanese immigrants entered through the port of San Francisco. Naturally, therefore, Japanese resided in and about this port city from which they radiated as time advanced. In 1890, according to the census, the 2,039 Japanese were distributed as follows:

District	Number.
North Atlantic States	247
South Atlantic States	55
North Central States	117
South Central States	61
Western States	1,559

Again, in 1900 and 1910 as follows:

District	1900 Number.	1910 Number.
New England States	89	286
Middle Atlantic States	446	1,609
South Atlantic States	29	150
E. N. Central States	126	455
E. S. Central States	7	23
W. N. Central States	223	966
W. S. Central States	30	426
Mountain States	5,107	10,209
Pacific States	18,269	57,628

Thus we note the gradual eastward migration of Japanese immigrants. Still by far the majority of them are yet confined to the western states, California containing the largest number. In 1910 the Japanese population in California was estimated at 55,000, made up approximately of 45,000 males, 6,000 females, and 4,000 children. Their distribution by county and the percentage they formed in each, were as follows:

County.	No.	Per Cent.	County.	No.	Per Cent.
Los Angeles	11,500	2.2	Kings	500	3.1
San Francisco	6,900	1.6	Butte	400	1.7
Sacramento	6.000	8.0	San Bernardino	400	9.0
Alameda	4,400	1.8	San Diego	400	0.6
San Joaquin	4,300	8.0	Yuba	400	4.1
Santa Clara	3,100	3.9	Imperial	360	2.7
Fresno	3,000	4.0	San Mateo	350	1.3
Yolo	1,500	9.0	Colusa	350	7.0
Contra Costa	1,000	3.3	San Luis Obispo	300	....
Placer	1,000	....	Sutter	300	5.1
Orange	990	2.6	Kern	340	0.6
Santa Barbara	960	3.4	Tehama	200	1.9
Sonoma	880	1.8	Stanislaus	190	0.8
Santa Cruz	860	....	Merced	150	1.2
Monterey	780	....	San Benito	150	....
Tulare	780	2.2	Napa	100	....
Solano	700	2.5	Others	40	....
Ventura	670	3.7			
Riverside	650	....	Total	55,000	2.1

First of all, according to the above table, Japanese are scattered all over the State. However, Los Angeles County contained the largest number, which was 11,500, while San Francisco and Sacramento the next largest number of Japanese. Alameda and San Joaquin contained little over 4,000 each, while Santa Clara and Fresno about 3,000 each. Three counties, Yolo, Contra Costa and Placer had about 1,000 each. Their number gradually diminish in the remaining counties. However, the percentage they formed of the entire population in each county does not follow the same order of their actual number. Thus in Yolo they formed 9 per cent, which was the highest, and in Sacramento and San Joaquin 8 per cent, which was the next highest. In Los Angeles they formed but 2.2 per cent, while in San Francisco 1.6 per cent. In no case then had they formed more than 9 per cent of the entire population even by counties.

The principal cities containing Japanese and the percentage they formed of the total population of each were as follows:

City.	No.	Per Cent.	City.	No.	Per Cent.
Los Angeles	7,938	2.5	San Jose	790	2.6
San Francisco	6,988	1.6	Alameda	692	3.0
Sacramento	2,452	5.6	Berkeley	686	1.7
Oakland	1,835	1.2	Stockton	495	2.1

Of the Japanese in cities, Los Angeles contained the largest and San Francisco the next largest number, they being 7,900 and 6,900 respectively. Sacramento had little over 2,400. But these formed 5.6 per cent of its entire population. The city of Alameda had only 700 Japanese, but these formed 3 per cent of its population. In spite of their large numbers, they formed only 2.5 per cent. of the population of the city of Los Angeles, while 1.6 per cent of that of San Francisco.

PART IV.

Economic Status of Japanese in California

Below is given an estimated occupational distribution of Japanese in California:

Occupation.	Number.	Occupation.	Number.
Officials, teachers, clergy	120	Railway employees	1,500
Students	1,000	Factories and canneries	500
Farmers	4,500	Salt field hands	300
Farm hands	20,000	Others	3,580
Merchants	4,000	No occupation	8,500
Hired by merchants	6,000		
Domestic servants	5,000	Total	55,000

Though perhaps the best obtainable estimate, none of the above figures should be rigidly interpreted for several reasons. The majority of farmers being mostly tenants, share or "contract" lack permanent character. Independent farmers of today may become mere farm hands of tomorrow and *vice versa*. The majority of merchants are the keepers of insignificantly small shops. They, too, come and go in quick order. Laborers are mostly unskilled, therefore they shift from one occupation to another, according to seasons, and, indeed, according to their whims and fancies. Clerks may become domestic servants at any moment. Domestic servants may take fancy to farms or to railroads. Farm hands may become gang hands, and *vice versa*. These, again, may work in canneries. They can shift about in these various occupations without any difficulty, because, in the first place, none of the occupations require any high degree of specialized skill, and in the second place, these Japanese are mostly unmarried young men between twenty and forty. A knowledge of English is necessary in certain of the occupations, but that too need not be more than elementary. There are hardly

any illiterates among them as far as their own language is concerned. Most young men are graduates of middle schools and have enough education to qualify for any of the occupations enumerated. Those with no occupation are mostly women and children. In other words, the table is set forth simply to give a normalized snap-shot picture of the occupational status of the Japanese in California. And the most striking fact about this picture is the narrowness of the field of Japanese activity. Be that as it may, we will examine somewhat in detail the more important of these occupations.

Japanese in Agriculture.

Japanese take to farms like ducks to water. Nearly 50 per cent of Japanese immigrants are engaged in horticultural and agricultural industries, either as farmers or as farm hands, the latter predominating in number. There are doubtless several reasons for this state of affairs. For centuries Japanese have been an agricultural race. Japanese labor immigrants here were almost exclusively drawn from the agricultural classes of Japan. It was natural, therefore, that they betook themselves to the industry as soon as the opportunity was offered to them. And already in the early eighties a few of them found their way to the orchards of the Vaca Valley. In the latter eighties a group of about thirty Japanese left San Francisco and went to the Sacramento Valley. A similar group landed in the Santa Clara Valley at about the same time. At that time agricultural labor in the State was practically monopolized by the Chinese. But the Restriction Law of 1882 providing for exclusion of Chinese laborers—"skilled or unskilled and those engaged in mining for ten years," began to curtail their labor supply. By 1890 the number of Japanese reached little over 1,000 and the farmers of California began to experiment with Japanese as farm hands. They were then gradually substituted for Chinese, who were growing old and weak. The substitution was inevitable—a case of the survival of the fittest.

Possessing all the required qualifications for the kind of labor needed in the industries and having organized themselves so as

to meet the demand more effectively, they have attained their present important position in agriculture of California. To show that position substantially I can do no better than to quote the "Report on the Japanese Question in California," made by a special commission appointed by the State in 1909, which reads in part as follows:

"The investigation of Japanese in agriculture covered visits to 4,102 farms scattered over thirty-six counties and growing almost every crop common to the State of California. Of this total number of farms visited, 1,733 were operated by Japanese farmers as owners, cash lessees and share lessees. The remaining 2,369 farms were operated by white farmers, being equally distributed between those employing white help, exclusively, and those employing mixed races, including Japanese. These 4,102 farms contained 697,236 acres and produced crops valued approximately at $28,000,000 annually. On these farms there were employed during the past year an aggregate of 80,984 persons of all races, 9,458 of whom were women, the length of employment varying from a few days to a year. On the 2,369 farms operated by white farmers, employing a total of 63,198 persons, 53.4 per cent of the labor employed was white, 36.4 per cent Japanese, and 10.2 per cent various other races, including Chinese, Mexicans, Hindus and Indians. On the 1,733 farms operated by Japanese farmers employing 17,784 persons, 96 per cent of the labor employed was Japanese, while 872, or 4 per cent, was equally divided between male and female white; in other words, on the basis of numbers employed, the Japanese furnished practically 50 per cent, or one-half, of the labor necessary to grow and harvest the crop, valued at $28,000,000 produced on the farms visited in this investigation."

The farms on which Japanese were not employed were, as a rule, much smaller than those on which they were employed, the former averaging 159 acres, the latter 357, demonstrating the necessity of a class of temporary laborers on large acreage.

Another important fact developed by this investigation was the relation between the character of the crop grown and the

employment of Japanese. On the farms where whites were employed exclusively, no berries or nursery products were grown and very little vegetables outside of beans.

The relation of the character of the crop to the employment of Japanese is well brought out in the following:

On the 2,369 farms operated by white farmers the percentage of labor furnished by Japanese, according to the principal crops grown, was as follows:

	Per Cent.		Per Cent.
Berries	87.2	Citrus fruits	38.1
Sugar beets	66.3	Deciduous fruits	36.5
Nursery products	57.3	Hops	8.7
Grapes	51.3	Hay and grain	6.6
Vegetables	45.7	Miscellaneous	19.6

It was further developed in this investigation that the fruit crops peculiar to California required the labor of a large number of persons for a very short period of time. The average duration of employment on farms visited was less than two months in the year, 68.3 per cent of the whites and 61.6 per cent of the Japanese were employed less than three months, and only 16.6 per cent of the whites and 10.7 per cent of the Japanese were employed permanently.

The following two charts will clearly show the relative position of Japanese and others engaged in agriculture of California:[1]

1 These charts are reproduced from the Fourteenth Biennial Report of Labor Statistics of California, pp. 270-273.

CHART I.

Race of Farm Labor Employed, According to Principal Crop Grown

"In this chart there is presented the percentage of farm labor of different races employed, according to the principal crop grown. These percentages are based on a record of 2,369 farms operated by white farmers. These farms were located in practically all the important agricultural and horticultural sections of the State. They contained 613,852 acres, on which were raised crops to the value of $23,000,000. On these farms there were employed during the year a total of 63,198 persons. The chart shows at a glance the crops which are dependent upon either white or Japanese labor."

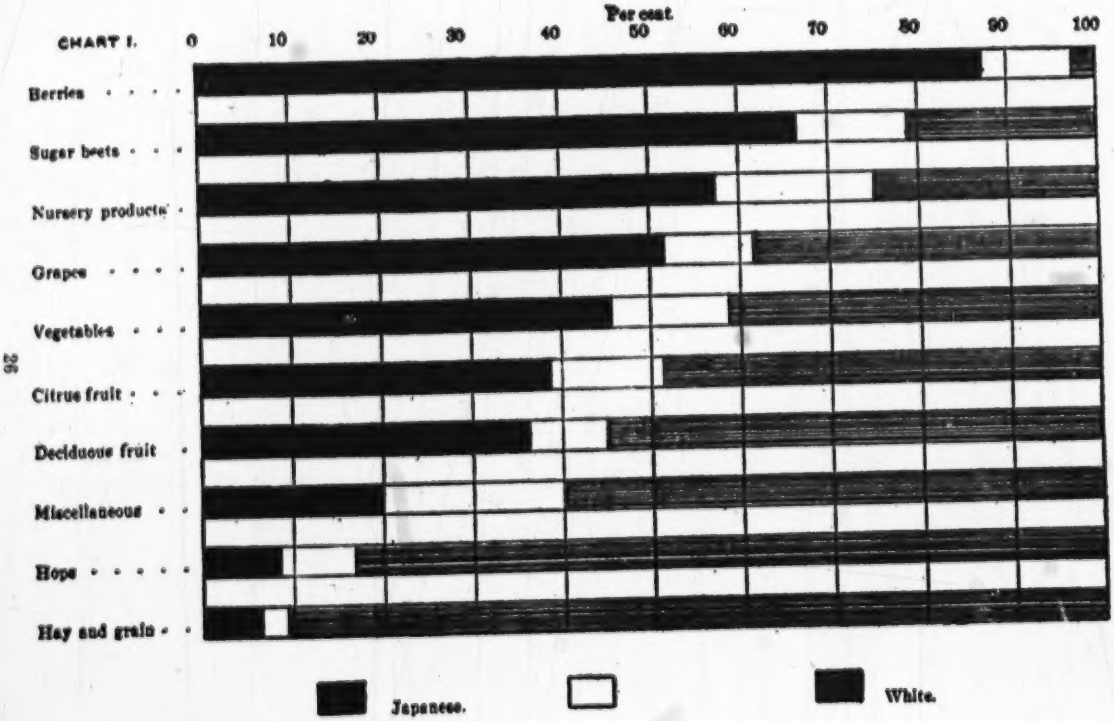
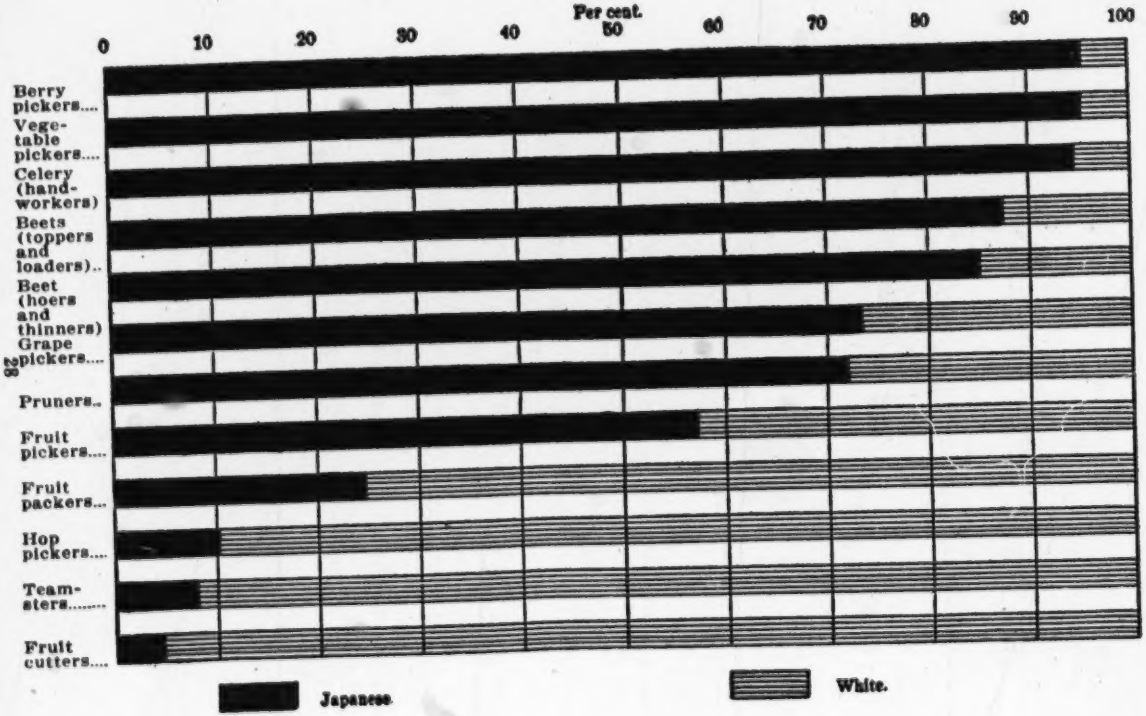


CHART I.
Per cent.
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Berries
Sugar beets
Nursery products
Grapes
Vegetables
Citrus fruit
Deciduous fruit
Miscellaneous
Hops
Hay and grain
Japanese.
White.

CHART II.

Race of Farm Labor Employed, According to Principal Occupation

"In this chart the percentages of white and Japanese labor is shown according to the various occupations. Reading down the list of occupations, it shows the class of work which the white farm laborer dislikes and which is now performed by the Japanese, while reading up it shows the class of work which is still congenial to the white farm laborer, and in which the Japanese have been unable to gain a foothold. The white fruit-packers and fruit-cutters are practically all female."


Per cent.
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Berry pickers....
Vege-table pickers....
Celery (hand-workers)
Beets (toppers and loaders)..
Beet (hoers and thinners)
Grape pickers....
Pruners..
Fruit pickers....
Fruit packers...
Hop pickers....
Team-sters.....
Fruit cutters....
Japanese.
White.

The *Chronicle*, which evidently had a fuller text of the Report than its "Resumé" before me, quotes from it further: "It is not mere opinion, based on concensus of observation, no theory predicated on an analysis of conditions and requirements, but the positive expression of a majority of the growers of fruits and such products as are affected by the demand, that this labor must continue to be drawn from sources beyond the United States. The competency of both Chinese and Japanese to meet all the requirements by these industries of the orchard, the vineyard and the field is unquestioned and unquestionable."

Again, "Comparing the individual Japanese laborer and the individual white laborer of the typical class that is now available in the field and from which is recruited all the white help now obtainable, the investigation discloses a higher standard of the Japanese individual.

"The report points out the peculiar adaptability of the Japanese as one of the most important factors in his value as a laborer. No matter how unattractable or undependable he may show himself in the absence of active competition, he reforms quickly in the face of competition, while the white man is the same always, and will not adapt himself to disagreeable or undesirable conditions." [1]

This brings me to a discussion of Japanese competition. Speaking of the wages of Japanese farm hands, the same report says: "The average wage paid by white farmers to white help was $1.38 per day with board and $1.80 per day without board, and to the Japanese, $1.49 per day with board and $1.54 per day without board. This, however, cannot be taken as the average earnings of the Japanese, for 49.2 per cent of the entire number employed were working by contract or piece work, under which condition the earnings of the Japanese are much higher than those of the whites.

"The average wages paid to Japanese farm labor by Japanese farmers were $1.57 per day with board and $1.65 without board,

1. The San Francisco "Chronicle," May 30, 1910.

showing that the Japanese were better paid by their own countrymen than by the white farmer—this for two reasons: first, that he is in greater demand by his own countrymen, and second, that only 12.5 per cent of the total number employed by Japanese farmers were working by contract or piece work."

It may be interesting, in this connection, to introduce here the facts gathered by the Immigration Commission. The following table gives comparison between the average wages of the Japanese on a time basis and the average of other races: [1]

Race	Regular with Board		Regular without Board		Temporary with Board		Temporary without Board	
	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Miscellaneous, white	411	$1.311	199	$1.889	53	$1.286	286	$1.855
Italian	101	1.108	22	1.667	181	1.121	.....	.....
Mexican	.....	.....	85	1.422	.....	.....	82	1.721
Chinese	108	1.406	26	1.559	35	1.454	99	1.743
Japanese	93	1.396	863	1.633	40	1.421	.....	1.615
Hindus	.....	.....	66	1.534	.....	.....	253	1.441

Commenting upon the table the report says: "It will be seen that the average wages for both Japanese and Chinese regularly employed and receiving board, $1.396 and $1.406, respectively, are higher than those for 'miscellaneous white' men, $1.311 and Italians $1.108." [2] However, Professor Millis reminds us that "only the averages for those employed without board are comparable, for they alone are net figures." Then he goes on to explain the differences in wages as follows: "The differences in wages indicated are not to be explained by substantial differences in efficiency. In most instances the Japanese were regarded as better than "the class of white men available for such work. It did measure substantially the difference in the cost of subsistence, which for Japanese was reckoned at 20 to 30 cents per day, while for white men it was from 50 to 75 cents per day." [3] At the same time, "It should be added, however, that

1 Immigration Commission Reports, Vol. 23, p. 65.
2 Ibid., p. 66.
3 Millis, Ibid., p. 119.

most of the Italians investigated were employed by their countrymen and were paid as little, if not less than the Japanese."[1]

The Immigration Commission states further on the basis of 3,650 Japanese farm laborers investigated: "Of the 863 regular employees not boarded, 86.4 per cent received between $1.50 and $1.75, and of the 2,654 temporary men not boarded, 90.3 per cent received from $1.50 to $1.75, inclusive."[2] And that was the situation in 1909.

Now, "two dollars is the usual rate for picking fruit and berries in every locality visited, and the wage for packers is usually somewhat higher. Lower payment of Japanese than of white men engaged in the same occupations is almost entirely a matter of the past. Piece rates, so important in harvest work and the almost universal rule in the cultivation and harvesting of sugar beets, are not only uniform for 'white' and Japanese laborers, but they have shown a tendency about Fresno and in other localities visited, to increase somewhat. Here and there the Mexicans are proving to be the best bidders for such work and undertake it for less money than the Japanese."[3] It is needless to be added that " white employers nearly always prefer white men as teamsters and usually state that they would prefer white men for all work, but the Japanese are better workers than the irregular white men usually available for hand work."[4]

Japanese Farmers.

There is a general misconception, indeed, an apprehension as regards Japanese farming in California, owing partly to the complicated systems under which Japanese cultivate land, but largely to the purposely exaggerated statements frequently asserted by the interested parties, the Asiatic Exclusion League to-wit. We will first examine the facts. Soon after Japanese began to work on ranches, white farmers applied to the Japanese the systems under which Chinese cultivated land. The first of these was "contract" system, under which Japanese boss or bosses

1 Millis, Ibid., 119.
2 Immigration Commission, Reports, vol. 23, p. 65.
3 Millis, Ibid., p. 124.
4 Immigration Commission, Ibid., p. 68.

were bound to furnish necessary labor throughout the season of a given industry at a previously fixed price. The second was share system, which is not the same as metayage, for under it the proprietor held an absolute control over the management of the farm. It only differs from contract system in that under this plan the leasor and lessee share alike profits and losses under stipulated conditions. Cash leasing did not begin till about 1900. The system as applied to the Japanese farmer ought to be classified into two—leasing simple and quasi-leasing. The former requires no explanation, but the latter is peculiar. The lessee pays the leasor a fixed cash rent for an industry he undertakes at his own risks, the leasor still having an absolute control over the management of the industry as well as over the disposition of the crops. He gets his rent "out of the sale of first crops." This is not leasing in the strict sense of that word. All of these systems were initiated by white farmers for their own convenience and economic gains to them were thus secured.

Just when Japanese began to cultivate their own land is not known. But the State investigation of 1909 disclosed that the farm land owned by Japanese was 10,791 acres, which were divided into 199 farms. These farms were assessed at $330,401 on land, and $46,927 on improvements, making a total of $397,-298, and were mortgaged to the extent of $173,584. In 1912 that acreage increased to 12,726, which were assessed at $609,605. There was an increase in the amount of 1,935 acres, and in value of $212,307. So much for Japanese who cultivate their own land.

Concerning these farmers and tenant farmers the report of the State investigation says: "1,733 Japanese farms were visited of which 132, containing 3,876 acres, were operated by Japanese owners; 1,170 farms containing 46,480 acres by Japanese cash lessees; and 431 farms containing 33,028 acres, by Japanese share lessees. These farms produced crops valued at, approximately, over $6,000,000. The most important crop grown was vegetables, which amounted to, approximately, $2,500,000, the next being deciduous fruits, $1,750,000, and berries, $730,000."

Thus Japanese farmers occupy rather an important position

in certain agricultural industries in California. But it must be borne in mind that the majority of these Japanese farmers are tenant farmers and these of a peculiar character as it has been already explained. Therefore, when their true character is revealed, at least their financial importance sinks down considerably. Their real status is succinctly but clearly brought out by the following conclusion of the Immigration Commission:

"In most localities the Japanese are the most recent race to engage in farming on their own account, so that there is a striking contrast between them and the other farmers in the West—in wealth as well as in the form of tenure and permanency of their relations in the community. While many of the Japanese farmers have accumulated considerable property and have become fairly independent in the conduct of their holdings, the largest number have little property and many of them have a form of tenure which limits their freedom in production. Moreover, because of the circumstances under which they have engaged in farming, an unusually large number of the Japanese have failed. Yet it must be held in mind that most of them have begun to farm much more recently than the farmers of other races. The wealth accumulated by a small minority in a few years has induced many to undertake farming on their own account." [1]

Effects of Japanese farming are discussed by Professor Millis in the following words: "In those localities in which Japanese have settled in any considerable number, land values have been increased chiefly because of the higher rental values of farms. It is asserted, however, that when the Japanese come in, others move out and their farms depreciate in value. There seems as yet, however, to be little basis in fact for such assertions. It is true that many families in some communities regard residence there as less desirable when any foreign race, and especially an Asiatic, immigrates, and some have moved elsewhere. This movement has been to the cities, however, and how much of it has been due to other causes, it is impossible to say. It is likely, however, that most of the changes of residence have been for

1 Immigration Commission, Reports, vol. 23, p. 89.

reasons explaining why some families move away from other communities. Of more importance than the movement away from these communities because of any feeling that they are no longer desirable, is the fact that the convenience and profit connected with leasing has permitted land-owners to live "in town" or in cities where there are better opportunities, especially for schooling children and for social life. Undoubtedly a premium has been placed on tenant farming and that carries with it a certain amount of absentee landlordism; but, taking the state as a whole, the percentage of tenants in 1910 (20.6) was less than in 1900 (23.1). In the United States, as a whole, the percentage of tenants increased from 35.3 in 1900 to 37.0 in 1910. Of absentee landlordism, there is not a great deal in most of the localities in which Japanese are engaged in farming. Most of the landowners are living with their families on the farms leased in part or in their entirety to Japanese. In no case has there been an exodus before the Japanese. The most effect is found in the fact that smaller numbers come to these communities to lease or to purchase land. Some do come; they are found in every community; there is a widespread feeling that they are fewer in number than would come, were it not for the presence of an Asiatic population and the higher land values which obtain." [1]

Japanese City Trade.

The results of the State investigation of Japanese city trades are summarized as follows:

"That part of the investigation relating to the Japanese in business and activities other than agriculture is practically complete. Two thousand, five hundred and forty-eight establishments were visited throughout the State. One thousand, nine hundred and thirty-four were owned by individuals, five hundred and fifty by partnerships, and sixty-four by corporations; 19.4 per cent have been in business less than one year; 24.2 per cent for one year; 17.2 per cent for two years, and 15.9 per cent for three years, making a total of 76.7 per cent of the total established since 1906. Only fifty eight establishments, or 2.3 per cent of

1 Millis, Ibid., pp. 146-147.

the total, have been in existence for ten years or more. The capital invested in most instances was very small, 68.7 per cent of the total having a capital of less than $1,000. The total aggregate cash invested amounted to over $4,000,000. The total annual transactions of these Japanese establishments amounted to $16,114,407, of which $5,938,012, or 36.8 per cent, was with the white people. The total annual rent paid by these firms was over $900,000. Six thousand, five hundred and fifty-six persons were engaged in the conducting of these establishments, of which number 2,546 males and 562 females (principally wives of owners) were employers, and 3,214 male and 234 female employees. In addition there were employed by these Japanese firms, 35 male and 20 female white persons. In 1,782 establishments, or 69.9 per cent, the employees lodged at the place of work.

"The sanitary condition of the places of work was reported as follows:

	Per Cent.
Good	81.8
Fair	16.6
Bad	1.4

"Sanitary condition of the places of lodging:

	Per Cent.
Good	68.5
Fair	27.3
Bad	4.2

"One thousand, five hundred and sixty-eight, or 61.5 per cent of the total number of establishments were located in the seven principal cities of the State, as follows:

Los Angeles	505	Fresno	191
San Francisco	497	San Jose	79
Oakland	178	Stockton	54
Sacramento	154		

"Although San Francisco did not contain the largest number of establishments, 34 per cent of the entire investment was represented there, and 40.2 per cent of the total amount of business transacted therein.

The ruling number of hours worked per day was ten and over, and the prevailing wages paid were from $25 to $35 with board, and $40 to $50 per month without board."

Japanese in Other Occupations.

Of the remaining occupations, the most important is undoubtedly domestic service. It may be stated that before Japanese found work on ranches, they were exclusively confined to domestic work. There are now some 5,000 of them engaged in this service, which embraces cooking, waiting on table, house cleaning, etc. Below are given two tables showing the wages paid in San Francisco to female white domestics and Orientals likewise occupied:[1]

TABLE X. Female Employment Agencies in San Francisco (Showing Number of Persons Furnished Positions in Various Occupations and their Wages during Month of April 1910.)

Occupation	Total Number of persons given employment	Number of persons given employment in San Francisco	Number of persons given employment outside San Francisco	Wages per Month							
				$15.00 and under	$20.00	$25.00	$30.00	$35.00	$40.00	$45.00	$50.00	$60.00 and over
Chambermaids	44	27	17	...	6	24	3	6	2	3	...	...
Cooks	58	17	41	1	2	4	15	6	11	2	9	8
House girls	58	49	9	1	7	17	15	8	7	1	1	1
Housework, general	47	28	19	1	4	9	19	7	6	...	1	...
Laundry workers	7	3	4	1	...	...	...	2	4	...	...	...
Linen workers	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Nurse girls	4	1	3	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Saleswomen	16	16	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...
Waitresses	107	41	66	2	...	49	32	21	3	...	...	...
Totals	342	183	159	6	21	103	85	68	33	6	11	9

1 Compiled from the tables in the Fourteenth Biennial Report of State Bureau of Labor, pp. 324-325.

TABLE XI. Oriental Employment Agencies in San Francisco
(Showing Number of Persons Furnished Position in Various Occupations and their Wages during Month of April, 1910.)

Occupation	Total number of persons given employment	Number of persons given employment in San Francisco	Number of persons given employment outside San Francisco	Wages per Week				Wages per Month									
				$5.00 and under	Over $5.00 to $7.50	Over $7.50 to $10.00	$10.00 and over	$10.00 and under	$15.00	$20.00	$25.00	$30.00	$35.00	$40.00	$45.00	$50.00	$60.00 and over
Bedmakers	16	14	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	2	1	...	...	...
Cooks	101	73	28	...	2	5	...	...	...	1	1	26	17	25	11	7	6
Help, kitchen	24	22	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	8	10	4	...	...	...
Help, laundry	11	7	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	5	1	...	...
House servants	43	37	6	...	1	1	...	...	...	3	11	21	5	...	...	...	1
Pantrymen	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...
Porters	11	9	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5	2	...	...
School boys	21	20	1	8	...	...	...	2	2	2	2	4	1	...	...	...	...
Waiters	31	21	10	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	14	8	4	2	...	...
Totals	261	205	56	8	4	6	...	2	2	6	18	88	50	46	16	8	7

On the basis of these statistics, we see that the majority of the Orientals are earning somewhere between $35 and $45 per month, and therefore, more than the female whites engaged in similar occupations. The wages paid to Japanese domestics have since considerably risen.[1]

Lastly, as to the Japanese employed by railroad companies. We have no available data concerning Japanese railroad hands in this State. But we may learn their status indirectly through a knowledge of numerous Japanese employed by the Central Pacific, the Western Pacific, and the Salt Lake and San Pedro in Nevada and Utah.

"From 1895, when they were first employed, until 1901, the Japanese were the most numerous of the races employed as laborers. They were then displaced by Greeks at a higher wage, but were later re-employed at a lower wage than that paid to the

1 See also Millis, Ibid., p. 54.

displaced race. In 1906 they numbered 1,000; 1908, 900; at the beginning of 1909, 700. They are now paid $1.40 per day, while the Italians, the other important racial element in maintenance of way work, are in some cases paid $1.50. On the other two roads referred to, the Japanese are paid the same wages as all white men, $1.45 per day; and in one case more than the Mexicans employed on the southern end of the route. They are also paid the same wage as Greeks, Italians and Slavs, and all white men employed on another road with its western terminus in Utah." [1]

The report further says: "With few exceptions the Japanese are preferred to the Greeks, who are most invariably ranked as the least desirable section hands, because they are not industrious and are intractable and difficult to control. As between Japanese and Italians, opinion is fairly evenly divided. The same may be said of them and the Slavs. Though the Japanese are usually ranked below the Chinese and Mexicans, they compare favorably with the south and eastern Europeans, who constitute a still larger percentage of the common laborers in maintenance of way work." [2]

Such was the situation in 1909. "In more recent years, with the scarcity of Japanese laborers and a still greater appreciation of them on the part of the roadmasters, practically all, if not all, underpayment of Japanese maintenance of way men has disappeared. In every instance in which data were recently secured, it was found that Japanese and European immigrants were being paid the same rate—$1.50, or whatever it might be, per day of ten hours. Not only have the Japanese risen to the general wage level; as the most interesting detail observed in my investigations, because of efficiency, ambition, long employment and trustworthiness, today many Japanese are employed as foremen of section and extra gangs—and frequently, perhaps more frequently than not, over Greek and Italian laborers. The San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake has about thirty Japanese foremen; the Oregon, Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, five; the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, twenty-five—eleven of them

1 Immigration Commission Reports, vol. 23, p. 41.
2 Ibid., pp. 41-42.

over non-Japanese "gangs," while many are found on the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific and other railroads. In 1909, so far as could be learned, no Japanese had risen above the position of assistant to some white foremen. They now promise to occupy to a considerable extent the cherished place of the rapidly disappearing Irish in these supervisory positions. If this practical test is conclusive, the Japanese have demonstrated their industrial superiority to the south and east Europeans so far as maintenance of way is concerned." [1]

So much for the occupations in which Japanese are engaged and wages they earn in the more important of these. Our examination brought out two facts in relief concerning the activity of Japanese; first, the narrowness of their field of activity, and second, in each of the important occupations, Japanese are earning just as much as anybody else similarly engaged, if not more. This fact is probably accounted for by their relative efficiency. In spite of a persistent allegation by anti-Japanese agitators, Japanese do not sell their labor at cheaper prices.

[1] Millis, Ibid., pp. 34-35.

PART V.

Political and Social Aspects of Japanese Immigration

Innumerable, indeed, are the charges brought out by anti-Japanese agitators against Japanese immigrants. Among these the most conspicuous and persistent is that of non-assimilation. We will not refute this bogie. We will simply present facts relative to the actual progress the Japanese have made toward assimilation, and then let readers decide whether or not they possess the capacity for assimilation.

First, as to their literacy. The table below shows the percentage of the Japanese who can speak English, by economic groups,, and by industry, and by years in the United States: [1]

WAGE-EARNERS

Industry	Number Reporting Complete Data	Per Cent Who Speak English by Years in United States			
		Under 5	5 to 9	10 or over	Total
Agriculture	6,041	58.8	72.5	84.4	65.8
Fish canneries	458	79.4	80.5	84.8	80.3
Fruit-vegetable canneries	201	51.1	66.7	63.2	55.7
Laundries	161	85.0	93.2	90.0	87.6
Lumber mills	333	38.8	55.1	73.3	49.2
Mining, coal	447	44.7	54.2	57.8	50.3
Smelting	63	18.4	40.0	60.0	28.6
Transportation:					
Steam railroads—					
Maintenance of way and construction	1,135	44.7	55.5	61.8	49.2
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service	628	37.0	62.3	75.0	46.8
Electric railways	102	50.0	76.0	100.0	58.8
Miscellaneous	1,277	83.8	85.7	96.1	86.2
Total	10,846	58.1	70.7	82.6	64.7

IN BUSINESS FOR SELF

Agriculture	847	85.9	96.0	98.1	93.4
Miscellaneous	458	95.0	97.1	99.3	97.4
Total	1,350	38.4	96.4	98.6	94.8

1 Immigration Commission, Reports, vol. 23, pp. 146-147.

"By way of summary, it may be said that when compared with other races employed in similar kinds of labor in the same industry, the Japanese show relatively rapid progress in acquiring a speaking knowledge of English. Their advance has been much more rapid than that of the Chinese and Mexicans, who show little interest in American institutions. During their first five years of residence, a greater proportion have learned to speak English than of most of the south and east European races. However, among those who have been in this country for a longer period of time, a larger proportion of the south and east Europeans than of the Japanese speak English. The progress of the Japanese is due to their great eagerness to learn, which has overcome more obstacles than have been encountered by most of the other races, obstacles of race prejudice, of segregation and of wide difference in language." [1] "The Chinese are self-satisfied and indifferent in this regard, whereas the Japanese are eager to learn the English language or anything pertaining to Western civilization." [2]

The next table shows the percentage of foreign-born Japanese who read their native language and percentage who read and write their native language, by sex and industry. [3]

MALE

Industry	Number Reporting Complete Data	Per Cent Who	
		Read Native Language	Read and Write Native Language
Agriculture	5,563	97.6	97.5
Fish canneries	368	100.0	100.0
Fruit and vegetable canneries	201	98.0	97.5
Laundries	161	100.0	100.0
Lumber mills	231	98.3	97.8
Mining, coal	403	96.3	96.0
Smelting	63	100.0	100.0
Transportation:			
Steam railroads—			
Maintenance of way and construction	1,000	98.2	98.1
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service	628	98.6	98.4
Electric railways	102	92.2	92.2
Miscellaneous	849	98.9	98.9
Total	9,569	97.9	97.8

FEMALE

Agriculture	83	74.1	72.8
Fruit and vegetable canneries	36	52.8	52.8
Miscellaneous	34	91.2	91.2
Total	153	72.8	72.2

1 Immigration Commission, Reports, vol. 23, p. 149.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid, p. 150

"It is evident from the preceding discussion that the standard of literacy shown by the Japanese, as indicated by their ability to read and write their native language, is far higher than that shown by the Chinese, the Mexicans and most of the south and east European races, if comparison is limited to those who are employed in the same industries and at the same kind of work." [1]

"As noted above, with regard to their ability to speak English, many Japanese immigrants have attended high schools in Japan, where they are given a foundation in English grammar . . . But a further aid in mastering the English language is found in the schools which are conducted in this country. Practically all of the few Japanese children of school age in the West attend the public schools, where they are found in all classes, from the primary grades through the entire elementary and secondary system." [2]

"Numerous schools are maintained for the benefit of adult Japanese immigrants. No less than 33, the primary aim of which is to instruct adult Japanese in the English language,. were reported by agents of the Commission in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland and Sacramento, Cal., and Seattle and Tacoma, Wash. Of these, several were designed primarily for the "student class," and embraced all subjects preparatory to high school, and in one or two cases for college work. The great majority, however, were conducted by the various religious missions and by private parties with the primary aim of imparting a knowledge of English to Japanese laborers." [3]

At the end of 1912, the number of Japanese attending various public and private schools in California were as follows: [4]

School.	Number.
Primary and grammar schools, public	1,183
High schools, public	139
Colleges and universities	105
Japanese kindergartens and primary schools, private	678
"Special" schools for adult Japanese, private	570

1 Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 151.
2 Ibid., pp. 151-152.
3 Ibid., p. 152.
4 Japanese American Year-Book for 1912, pp. 131-132.

The next table gives per cent of foreign-born Japanese who speak English and per cent who read and write English, by sex and industry. [1]

WAGE-EARNERS

Industry	Number Reporting Complete Data		Per Cent Who Speak English		Per Cent Who Read and Write English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture	6,041	111	21.6	2.7	19.8	2.7
Fish canneries	368	.....	56.0	.....	52.7	.....
Fruit and vegetable canneries	201	36	34.3	5.6	33.8	5.6
Laundries	161	.....	59.0	.....	59.0	.....
Lumber mills	231	.....	36.4	.....	35.5	.....
Mining, coal	447	.....	48.1	.....	47.2	.....
Smelting	63	.....	11.1	.....	11.1	.....
Transportation: Steam railroads: Maintenance of way and construction	1,000	.....	42.8	.....	42.2	.....
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service	628	.....	33.8	.....	30.2	.....
Electric railways	102	.....	51.0	.....	50.0	.....
Miscellaneous	1,276	60	59.1	23.3	54.3	21.7
Total	10,518	207	32.6	9.2	30.5	8.7

IN BUSINESS FOR SELF

Agriculture	841	277	37.5	7.6	36.6	7.2
Miscellaneous	450	198	71.1	22.2	71.1	21.7
Total	1,291	475	49.2	13.7	48.6	13.3

Lastly, the following table shows the percentage of foreign-born Japanese who read, and who read and write, some language, by sex and by industry: [2]

1 Immigration Commission Reports, vol. 23, p. 154.
2 Immigration Commission, Ibid., p. 157.

WAGE-EARNERS

Industry	Number Reporting Complete Data		Per cent Who Read		Per cent Who Read and Write	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture	6,041	111	97.8	79.3	97.7	78.4
Fish canneries	458	.....	99.8	.....	99.8	.....
Fruit-vegetable canneries	201	36	98.0	52.8	98.0	52.8
Laundries	161	.....	100.0	.....	100.0	.....
Lumber mills	332	11	98.5	(a)	98.2	(a)
Mining, coal	447	.....	96.0	(a)	95.7	(a)
Smelting	63	.....	100.0	.....	100.0	.....
Transportation:						
Steam railroads—						
Maintenance of way and construction	1,135	3	97.1	(a)	96.1	(a)
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service	628	.....	99.2	.....	99.0	.....
Electric railways	102	.....	92.2	.....	92.2	.....
Miscellaneous	1,277	60	99.2	91.7	99.2	91.7
Total	10,844	221	98.0	78.7	97.8	78.7

IN BUSINESS FOR SELF

Agriculture	837	277	79.4	88.8	97.3	87.7
Miscellaneous	450	198	98.7	91.9	98.7	91.9
Total	1,288	475	97.8	90.1	97.7	89.5

"Reviewing the whole field of literacy, the following facts are clearly disclosed. More progress in learning English has been made by Japanese employed in or near the centers of Japanese population than by others of the same race who work under other conditions. This is partially due to environment and partially to the fact that many Japanese employed in the cities are of the student class. Compared to the other races employed in similar kinds of work in similar industries, the Japanese appear to have progressed more rapidly than most of the other races, especially the Chinese and Mexicans. This seeming superiority must be discounted somewhat because of two facts: First, that many of the Japanese have had a high school training in Japan, which usually includes a rudimentary knowledge of English grammar, and hence is a great aid in learning to use English; and second,

that many Japanese have come to the continental United States by way of the Hawaiian Islands and Canada, where they have had some contact with English-speaking people. None of the other races have had these advantages before immigration. The differences between the Japanese and some of the other races with regard to the learning of English are so great, however, as to justify the statement that the Japanese have acquired the use of the English language more quickly and more eagerly than the Chinese, the Mexicans and some of the European races." [1]

It may be also added as another channel for assimilation, what the Japanese read apart from Japanese publications. "The American publications subscribed for are largely local daily newspapers of the community in or near which the subscribers live. However, a number of households (in most cases those of the urban Japanese) subscribe for weekly or monthly magazines printed in English. Among these are the *Literary Digest*, the *Independent*, the *Outlook*, the *Review of Reviews*, the *Pacific Monthly*, and *Collier's Weekly*." [2]

The Japanese as a race are sensitive to their environment, and possess a natural faculty for assimilation. Moreover, they are anxious to exercise it. But there are two obstacles in their way: They cannot become citizens of this country because of their race, and they cannot marry white persons because of the law of California. Contrary to the belief of many, these are not insurmountable. Many who are familiar with the "Japanese problem" favor removing both of these legal barriers. Dr. Jordan says, "An indirect exclusion act, as of races not eligible for citizenship, is more humiliating than a direct act would be. It implies that the Japanese cannot read between the lines. Exclusion from citizenship, for which discrimination no adequate cause exists, is of the nature of insult in itself. To shut out because they have been insulted once adds doubly to a humiliation they have no power to

1 Immigration Commission, Reports, Vol. 23, p. 158.
2 Ibid., p. 159.

resent, but which they hope their nearest friends among the nations will not offer them." [1] Professor Millis says, "Acceptable individuals of any race living here should be able to become citizens." [2] Dr. Gulick holds, "American citizenship should be based on individual qualification. Race of itself alone should not be a disqualification for citizenship." [3] "Japanese individuals who have taken the required course of education for citizenship and are ready, on the one hand, to renounce openly their allegiance to Japan and, on the other, to take oath of allegiance to the United States would, without doubt, make as loyal Americans as those who come from any other land." [4] In other words, change the naturalization law, and then one of the insurmountable obstacles to assimilation is forever removed.

But how about intermarriage? Some hold that intermarriage is not essential to assimilation. But granting that it is essential, let us inquire somewhat on a broader basis as to this interesting subject of intermarriage between the Japanese and the Americans. "The intermarriage of whites and Japanese is not analogous to that of whites and Negroes. Caucasians and Japanese are, to begin with, much closer. The Japanese race already contains considerable white blood. Many a Japanese of high social rank could easily pass for an Italian or Spaniard. Furthermore, the two races have lived under the same general climatic conditions for over two thousand years in the north temperate zone. Their general civilizational development, likewise, have been strikingly parallel. Both have experienced no little social discipline—if anything, the discipline of the Japanese being more severe than that of the Europeans. Both possess highly developed industrial and political institutions.

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1 D. S. Jordan, What Shall We Say? p. 70.
2 Millis, Ibid., p. 308.
3 Gulick, The American and Japanese problem, pp. 292-293.
4 Ibid.

"In actual experience results are what we should expect. The offspring of mixed marriages are oftentimes practically indistinguishable from Caucasians. The color distinction is the first to break down. The Japanese hair and eye exert a stronger influence. So far as the observation of the writer goes, there is a tendency to striking beauty in Americo-Japanese. The mental ability, also, of the offspring of Japanese and white marriages is not inferior to that of children of either race.

"In Tokyo there are not less than a score of families of mixed marriages. The father, in most cases, was a student in some foreign land for a number of years. He married a German, English, French, or American girl and brought her home to Japan. There, oppressed by no social disgrace, possessed of the financial and social ability to bring up the children to the best of his knowledge, with the aid of his foreign wife to give what foreign accomplishments he might not otherwise be able to provide, he is disproving by his children the sinister predictions of race prejudice.

"There are also in Japan foreign gentleman who are rearing Anglo-Japanese, German-Japanese, and Franco-Japanese." [1] Then Dr. Gulick goes giving his observations of some of these individual families and their children. Here in America, also, not a few Japanese have married Americans. But in the West, "The race antipathy evidenced by the instances cited above has done much to cause and to perpetuate the clannishness of the Japanese immigrants. The feeling is also very general that marriage between Japanese and white persons should be discouraged. In fact, the strong popular sentiment in this connection has developed into a definite legal prohibition of such unions in the State of California, and has been strong enough in the other Western States to pre-

1 Gulick, Ibid., pp. 152-154.

vent any widespread intermarriage between the Japanese and the other races." [1]

In spite of the situation, legal and otherwise, there are now about fifty instances in the West where Japanese men have married American women, and, with few exceptions, the couples have lived happily." [2] And probabilities are, "there would be many more if it were not for the artificial and unjust restrictions placed by law and usage," [3] as the situation in the East where there is no race prejudice against Japanese points out. At any rate, "so far as experience shows there is nothing inherently bad in race mixture and if it takes place under normal conditions, and neither race is generally regarded as inferior and the offspring therefore given inferior rank, as in the case of the negroes," [4] why not remove the legal obstacle and see what will be the tendency? From what I do know of the more intelligent, and therefore, more Americanized Japanese, Dr. Soyeda's statement will likely be proved. That would certainly bring about a more complete assimilation of Japanese.

A few more sociological facts may be mentioned. First, as to the religious life of Japanese immigrants here in California: "In every community where any considerable number of Japanese have settled Christian missions have been instituted for their benefit. The membership of the Christian missions, while large and increasing year by year, is smaller than that of the Buddhist organizations. These missions are for Japanese alone, and a recognition of a difference between them and other races and a condition which lessens their value as an assimilative force." [5] This last indictment is worthy of serious consideration by all who are interested in religious salvation as well as in real Christianization of Japanese. A stigma is attached to the "mission" Christianity in the mind of many Japanese Christians, and they prefer to attend American churches and they do. The mission work if

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1 Immigration Commission, Reports, vol. 23, pp. 159-160.
2 Millis, Ibid., pp. 174-175.
3 Soyeda and Kamiya, A Survey of the Japanese Question in California, p. 9.
4 Millis, Ibid., p. 175.
5 Immigration Commission, Ibid., p. 163.

properly instituted will no doubt have a far-reaching influence in Americanizing Japanese immigrants.

Though Japanese are racially ineligible for membership in practically all of the American Orders, they are well organized among themselves. The most important of all the Japanese organizations is the Japanese Association of America, a sort of a federation of the local Japanese Associations which now number no less than fifty scattered all over the State. One of its chief aims is "to promote a better understanding between Japanese and Americans." Then there is the Japanese Benevolent Society. It was organized in 1910, with the object of making a more complete provision for the care of sick, injured, or other unfortunate Japanese. Unlike the case of European immigrants, the public has done nothing for Japanese immigrants and exigencies have caused them to organize themselves, perhaps on the principle, "God will help those who help themselves." But the fact that they are well-organized is often made a ground of American opposition to them, though "they have accomplished a great deal of good," [1] and have done nothing condemnable.

"With regard to criminal acts, the record of the Japanese immigrants is very good." For example, in San Francisco from 1900 to 1907, less than 100 Japanese were reported among the committments, a remarkably small number if the size of the Japanese population of that city and the number of Greeks, Italians, and others committed are considered. Gambling is an evil which is often to be found in the Japanese just as it is found in other 'camps' where any large number of laborers live and work together. In connection with the whole matter of law and order it should be noted, however, that the general attitude of the white people is that it is not important what the Asiatics do among themselves, so long as violation of law or order does not endanger or inconvenience the members of other races." [2]

"The Japanese as a race are temperate. Though there is much drinking at restaurants and in 'camps,' instances are rare in

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1 Millis, Ibid., p. 249.
2 Immigration Commission, Reports, vol. 23, p. 165.

which drunkenness has interfered with their efficiency in any branch of employment." [1]

Their characteristics may further be learned from the following statements: "The Christian religion has taken firm root there (in Japan). The Japanese have not been steeled against change. Their rapidly changing civilization and recent phenomenal progress bear witness to this." [2] "They have taken much from other nations." [3] "Literate, intelligent, studious, imitative, desiring to be recognized as equals and feeling offended when treated as a dissimilar and inferior race, they have quickly conformed to many of the requirements and customs of the adopted country." [4] "In their persons and dress they are especially careful in this matter. One seldom finds a 'camp' or a 'shack' too rude in its equipment to be without bathing facilities. The day's work is usually followed by a hot bath." [5] "The Japanese dress well and wear American clothes." [6] "They have a high standard of personal cleanliness." [7] Then too, "the Japanese are very 'personal' in their relations, and are frequently generous to a fault in showing their appreciation to others." [8] In their homes, "chop sticks continue in very general use, but in every one of the houses investigated the past summer, knives, forks and spoons were found, and rather frequently they were more or less regularly used by the members of the Japanese household." [9] "Twenty years have witnessed a considerable change in the diet of the Japanese in the United States." [10] Taking the families of Japanese and Italian farmers, the diet of the one is no more characteristic of the race than that of the other. Neither is their diet without desirable variety, nor less expensive than that of other immigrant races in

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1 Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 166.
2 Millis, Ibid., p. 254.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 233
6 Ibid., p. 254.
7 Ibid., p. 232.
8 Ibid., p. 233.
9. Ibid., p. 255.
10 Ibid.

similar economic positions."[1] The one point in which the Japanese standard of living is notably inferior is in housing."[2] "The Japanese have been willing to observe a lower standard in the matter of housing than the American or the average European, though not lower than that of the Greek, the South Italian, and some of the less desirable races of immigrants from South and East Europe, and he demands distinctly better accommodations than the Mexicans."[3]

After examining these detailed facts covering over twenty pages, the federal report concludes: "Thus the Japanese have a comparatively small percentage of illiterates among them, are intelligent and eager to learn of American institutions, make a fairly rapid progress in learning to speak English, and unusually good progress in learning to read and write it. They have not proved to be burdensome to the community because of pauperism or crime. Yet the Japanese, like the Chinese, are regarded as differing so greatly from the white races that they have lived in but no integral part of the community. A strong public opinion has segregated them, if not in their work, in the other details of their living, and practically forbids, when not expressed in law, marriage between them and persons of the white race."[4] So much for the social and political aspects of Japanese immigration.

Recapitulation.

By way of summary, I wish to say:

1. Japanese immigration was insignificant till 1891, when 1,000 of them immigrated for the first time. The number never exceeded 10,000 in any one year but once, and on the whole, formed but less than a drop in the bucket on the basis of general immigration. The agreement of 1907 "has been loyally and rigidly kept by the Japanese foreign office: too rigidly it may be, for even students from Japan bound for American universities, the best bond of peace between the two countries, find it increasingly hard to get their passports."[5] The Japanese population

1 Millis, Ibid., p. 255.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 256.
4 Immigration Commission Reports, vol. 23, p. 166.
5 D. S. Jordan, "What Shall We Say?" p. 69.

has slightly diminished since 1908, when it was estimated at 80,000. The census for 1910 says it was 71,000.

2. The "scums" of Japan never immigrated to the United States. Common laborers formed but 21.4 per cent of the total immigration between 1886 and 1908. "Beaten men of beaten races" could not be applied to the Japanese. To call them "coolies" is to deny facts. Females formed a small portion of the Japanese immigrants, though they formed a larger portion of immigration in more recent years. Ninety per cent of Japanese were between 14 and 44 years of age when admitted into the country. The per capita amount of money brought by them is not materially different from that brought by the most well-to-do European immigrants, viz.: English, German, Irish, etc. In California, the illiteracy among Japanese is smallest as compared with that among other foreign-born elements.

3. By far the great majority of Japanese immigrants are confined to the Western States, and in particular to California. But they do not congest. They are scattered all over the State, though the majority are found in rural districts.

4. Occupationally the most important for Japanese is agriculture. Here they are said to be now indispensable. Several thousands are employed by their own merchants and tradesmen. A slightly less number are found in domestic service. Some are employed by railroads. In none of the more important occupations do the Japanese now compete to the detriment of the general standard of living. When similarly occupied, on the whole, the Japanese are earning just as much as anybody else, if not more.

5. The current notion concerning Japanese farming in California is altogether too exaggerated. The farm land owned by them is no more than 12,726 acres, and the amount leased, 17,596. "Because of the circumstances under which they have engaged in farming an unusually large number of the Japanese have failed."

6. Japanese city trades are, indeed, numerous. But most of these are very small-scale enterprises. The total capital invested in these is no more than $4,000,000 and the total annual transactions, $16,000,000.

7. In discussion of matters involving personal character, one is apt to become "subjective," but the purpose of this book is an "objective" study. Therefore, to carry this out I have done no more than to quote at length the various facts gathered by the Immigration Commission and the students most familiar with the subject. According to these authorities, the percentage of illiteracy among Japanese is exceedingly small. They are eager and make a strenuous effort to learn of American institutions, and to speak, read and write English, and in fact, "have made unusually good progress" in this regard. They are practically free from criminal acts and pauperism. They impose no burden upon the community. The only objection that is raised against the Japanese is the fact that he does not belong to any branch of white races. Nevertheless, the students most familiar with the Japanese problem unanimously favor removing all legal obstacles, and others if possible. Japanese should be treated equally with other immigrant races. Such, then, are the facts concerning the various aspects of Japanese immigration, and its status in the State of California.

PART VI.

Anti-Japanese Agitation and Alien Land Law of 1913

The more salient facts relative to Japanese immigration and its status in California have been surveyed. In the following pages the anti-Japanese agitation will be reviewed, and also the alien land of 1913, a culminating point of that agitation, will be discussed.

The name of Dr. O'Donnell may be recalled as the first man who raised a cry, "Japs must go," as early as 1887, when there were no more than 400 Japanese in the entire State. These few Japanese could not be made even a municipal political issue. He failed.

The year 1899 saw two events that counted much against Japanese: First, a bubonic plague broke out in San Francisco. Orientals were much blamed for it, for what particular reasons we do not know to this day. Second, there was held a mass meeting under an extravagant name of "Japanese Exclusion" under the auspices of the Building Trades Council and San Francisco Labor Council. Mr. Thomas F. Turner, who doubtless voices the sentiment of these agitators, says, "the Chinese are contract labor coolies, a servile class subjected to the jurisdiction of the Six Companies, with life and death power. They are cheap laborers; deprive the whites of their employment, and also keep out the white immigrants from the State; they are loathsome in their habits and filthy in their dwellings; and vile in their morals." "They (Japanese) are more servile than the Chinese, but less obedient and far less desirable. They have most of the vices of the Chinese with none of their virtues. They underbid in everything, and as a class tricky, unreliable and dishonest."[1] This was written in 1901.

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1 "Chinese and Japanese Labor in the Mountain and Pacific States," in Reports of Industrial Commission, Vol. 15, p. 387.

In 1905 The Asiatic Exclusion League, then known as The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, was organized and O. E. Tveitmoe was made its president. He is still with it. Who he is need not be told. He is too famous for that. The League, however, has already caused a great deal of unnecessary unpleasantness. The "School Question" of 1906 was entirely due to their activity. The entire number of Japanese children attending the public schools then was no more than 92, and these were scattered in twenty different schools. Besides, the report of Secretary Metcalf, who was sent here by President Roosevelt to investigate, says:

"Many of the foremost educators in the State, on the other hand, are strongly opposed to the action of the San Francisco Board of Education. Japanese are admitted to the University of California, an institution maintained and supported by the State. They are also admitted to, and gladly welcomed at Stanford University. San Francisco, so far as known, is the only city which has discriminated against Japanese children. I talked with a number of prominent labor men, and they all said that they had no objection to Japanese children attending the primary grades; that they wanted the Japanese children now in the United States to have the same school, to have the same school privileges as children of other nations. . . ." [1]

The smashing of Japanese restaurants was also encouraged by the same League. And the municipal government was then in the hands of Schmitz and Ruef.

Their agitation work has been much aided by certain politicians. Mr. Kahn, who has been consistently decrying against Asiatic immigration, among other things because of their ignorance, when the Burnett-Dillingham Bill with the literacy test came before the House, pleaded for admission of illiterates. He further said, "Restriction of immigration is not a new subject, and the present agitation is but a recrudescence of anti-foreign agitation that has

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1 Quoted in H. B. Johnson, "Discrimination Against Japanese in California," p. 99.

occurred from the very beginning of our government." Yet he himself has been a strenuous campaigner against Japanese immigration. Wonderful is the logic of some politicians!

But more specifically brings Mr. E. A. Hayes charges against Japanese. Here is a set of wholesale charges. "A close acquaintance shows one that unblushing lying is so universal among the Japanese as to be one of the leading national traits; that commercial honor, even among her commercial classes, is so rare as to be only the exception that proves the reverse rule, and that the vast majority of the Japanese people do not understand the meaning of the word 'morality,' but are given up to practice of licentiousness more generally than in any nation in the world justly making any pretenses to civilization. I am told by those who have lived in Japan and understand its language that there is no word in Japanese corresponding to 'sin,' because there is in the ordinary Japanese mind no conception of its meaning. There is no word corresponding to the word 'home,' because there is nothing in the Japanese domestic life corresponding to the home as we know it. The Japanese language has no term for 'privacy.' They lack the term and the clear idea because they lack the practice." These words are taken from his speech made before the House on March 13, 1906, under the title of "Japanese Exclusion."

I am afraid that the opening sentence has to include Mr. Hayes himself. At its best, it is the case of a pot calling a kettle black. If what is said is true, how was the tremendous growth of Japanese commerce during the last fifty years accomplished? By lying, I suppose. As to the meaning of the word "morality," I should like to suggest a reading of Dr. Nitobe's Bushido. It is exquisitely written, though by a native of Japan. Those who informed Mr. Hayes evidently do not understand Japanese language. The Japanese word "tsumi" exactly corresponds to "sin," while "uchi" and "naisho" correspond respectively to "home" and "privacy." I have purposely given the coloquial terms, because they are understood universally. It is better not to pretend to be wise about things we are absolutely ignorant of.

I am, indeed, sorry to own that prostitution does exist in Japan. Is America free from it? The vice commission of Chicago and the recent investigation of "white slavery" in New York will furnish an abundance of materials to Messrs. Hayes of Japan to effectively indict American morality. "The man of the world finds the Japanese immoral, not remembering that vice is everywhere near him that seeks it," says Dr. Jordan. At any rate, I refuse to be a Mr. Hayes, here or in Japan.

Then he arrays the kind of statistics that will prove anything. "I am giving statistics showing the relative wages of the Mongolian, especially the Japanese, and the white man. And I want to say, in passing, that these statistics were gathered by the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League of San Francisco. I can not vouch for their accuracy, but have no doubt that they are substantially correct." Imagine what follows from such authentic sources. Enough has been said on this point already, and we shall not honor Mr. Hayes in quoting from him further.

Nor need I enumerate reasons for the existence of The Asiatic Exclusion League (recently disorganized) and agitators against Japanese. They are guided neither by patriotism nor even by chauvinism, but by money-getting and vote-getting motives. Accordingly, they play with mobs with their mob psychology, and they have already done much mischief which now and then strained the friendly relation between the United States and Japan. Will the intelligent American public tolerate continuance of their vile agitation to make Japanese haters of Americans just to convenience selfish interests of a few unscrupulous individuals, when their immigration was practically stopped in 1907?

Not satisfied with the prohibition of Japanese immigration, or perhaps because it was no longer possible to wage wars against non-existing immigration, the agitators now directed their campaign against the Japanese residents. Thus it was that the State Legislature of 1909 was swamped with anti-Japanese bills of every description, all aiming at interference with industrial activities of Japanese immigrants in the State. However, because of the President's intervention they all failed to pass. Among those, of

course, there was a bill designed to prevent the acquisition of land by Japanese. In the session of 1911 the Legislature was again flooded with anti-Japanese bills, including one which forbade the acquisition of land by aliens ineligible for citizenship, as well as the leasing of it by them. This bill passed one house but was killed in the other. In addition to pressure exerted from Washington, the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company strenuously opposed the pending bill. Even the Asiatic Exclusion League backed down and advised its leaders to vote against enactment. Thus twice in succession the anti-Japanese agitation failed to effect its object.

The year 1913 arrived, with a radically changed political situation. The national administration was now Democratic, while the State administration was Progressive-Republican. There was no sympathy between the two. The Federal intervention, had, as a matter of fact, a negative effect. It assisted in enacting the law. Such is the opinion of many. Just as in the previous session, the Exposition Company exerted its influence against enactment. But the alien land bill was passed May 22d, and became a law when it was signed by the Governor, May 19th. That law forbids further acquisition of land by Japanese, though they may hold what they now own. But upon death such holdings may not be succeeded to by those ineligible for citizenship, that is by Japanese. The law also limits leasing of land for agricultural purposes to three years. And the purpose of the whole law is thus explained by the author of the law himself.

"The fundamental basis of all legislation upon this subject, State and Federal, has been, and is, race undesirability. It is unimportant and foreign to the question under discussion whether a particular race is inferior or superior. The simple and single question is, is the race desirable. . . ? *It (the law) seeks to limit their presence by curtailing their privileges which they may enjoy here; for they will not come in large numbers and long abide with us if they may not acquire land. And it seeks to limit the numbers*

who will come by limiting the opportunities for their activity here when they arrive." [1]

"In other words," says Dr. Gulick, "this is an indirect legislation for the control of immigration and looks toward the exclusion of those Japanese already owning real estate in California." [2] Another writer says, the law is unjust, impolitic, and unnecessary. "It is unjust because it takes advantages of discrimination under the naturalization law to further discriminate between aliens of different races lawfully in this country. It limits the property rights of those who must remain aliens and safeguards those of others who might, but do not, become citizens. It changes the law with reference to the ownership of the soil which no doubt furnished a motive for some to immigrate. Moreover, as the representatives of the Japanese government have pointed out on many occasions, subjects of the United States are not only accorded the same property rights as other aliens in Japan, but these rights are extensive. Though aliens may not own land in fee simple because the government has not as yet placed in effect a law passed by the Japanese Parliament in 1910, conferring that right, they may lease land for such long periods and under such conditions that the difference is not great. Hence the Californian is not reciprocal."

"The law is impolitic because it is opposed to the spirit and fundamental principles of amity and good understanding, upon which the conventional relations of the two nations depend. It is the kind of legislation that retards and interferes with commercial relations, and no large part of the foreign commerce to which California is a party is with Japan. The development of closer commercial relations with Japan and other eastern Asiatic countries should be cherished, and not retarded and interfered with." "Finally, investigation makes it evident that ownership carries with it the closest approach to American standards and the best

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1 Speech by Attorney-General Webb before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, August 9, 1913, quoted by Gulick in his American-Japanese Problem, p. 189.

2 Ibid.

opportunities for assimilation. With ownership, and especially of agricultural land, 'squatter life' gives way to the better living conditions made possible only by a fixed residence and property interests. Those who own land develop an interest in their property and in the community in which they reside, not to be expected of those not so firmly attached. And, most important, the effect is cumulative. One good farmer who has an interest in the community and who wishes to become thoroughly American does much to improve the ideals and life and to further the assimilation of his countrymen. Not the least sin of the alien land law is that it removes this positive force making for rapid assimilation and puts in its stead a feeling of resentment which stands in the way of the development of the best living and the fullest assimilation.

"Had we an unrestricted immigration of Japanese, an acute situation would undoubtedly arise in connection with the ownership of the soil. But the fact is that numbers are small, and unless there is a change in the present immigration policy, will not become large. The high wages to be earned now that Japanese have a scarcity value and the handicap the Japanese are under in securing farm labor tend to check independent farming by them." [1] The law was unnecessary. Such has been the history of the anti-Japanese agitation in California, which culminated in the enactment of the alien land law in 1913.

1 Millis, Ibid., pp. 212-215.

PART VII.

Suggested Remedies

Before closing, however, two suggestions may be here offered in the hope that they may help in solving this menacing problem of Japanese immigration. First of these is a method of regulating immigration, first suggested by Dr. Gulick, and later modified by Professor Millis. It is here reproduced as stated by the last mentioned author.

"Varying somewhat from Dr. Gulick's suggestions, the writer feels that a bill modifying the existing general immigration law in the following respects and applying to Asiatics as well as others, should be given serious consideration by Congress. Include as 'immigrants' all subjects of a foreign power who apply for admission except aliens who have resided in the United States but have been out of the country not to exceed three years, *bona-fide* travelers, government officials, and students not dependent upon labor in this country for their support. Amend the existing law so that except in the case of Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico and Cuba,[1] the number of immigrants admitted in any one year shall not exceed 5 per cent of the total of those who had taken their 'second papers' and the native born of one or both parents born in the given country, as recorded in the Census of 1910. Provided, however, that the maximum number in no case shall be less than 1,000 in order that immigration from new countries shall not be unduly restricted. Wives, children under sixteen years of age, and other dependent relatives should not be counted in reckoning the number to be admitted. Only those immigrants should be admitted who come with a proper certificate signed and numbered by a designated officer of the American government residing in the country from which they emigrate. Except in the case of Canada and Mexico, immigrants should be permitted to land only at seaports where immigration stations are provided. Each one

1 This exception is dictated by administrative considerations. Moreover, the Canadians and the people of the United States, living under similar conditions and with same institutions.

admitted should be registered and any immigrant found unregistered in the United States should be liable to deportation. The Commissioner-General of Immigration or some other executive officer should be empowered, with the consent of the President, to waive, by order properly issued, the limitation on the number of any race emigrating from a country because of political or religious persecution. The number fixed upon in the law should obtain (subject to the exception just noted) *indefinitely* and until changed by act of Congress.[1]

While it is impossible to make comparison between the data presented by the Census of 1910 and the immigrants admitted to the United States in 1914 to show accurately just how restrictive such a measure as that suggested would be, in general effect is roughly shown by the following table:

I Country	II No. Foreign Born Males 21 and over in U. S.	III No. of Same Naturalized	IV No. of Native Born of Foreign Parentage	V Total of Columns III and IV	VI Possible Annual Immigration less Excepted Classes	VII Immigrant Aliens Admitted in 1914
A. Northwest Europe—						
Great Britain and Ireland	1,211,182	770,094	5,163,277	5,933,371	296,669	73,417
Germany	1,278,677	889,007	5,781,437	6,670,444	333,522	35,734
Norway	213,042	121,651	575,241	696,892	34,845	8,329
Sweden	349,022	219,057	699,032	981,089	45,905	14,800
Denmark	102,398	63,068	218,443	281,511	14,076	6,282
Netherlands	59,752	33,922	173,521	207,443	10,372	6,321
Belgium	27,619	11,869	39,867	51,736	2,587	5,763
France	59,661	29,613	175,153	204,766	10,238	9,296
Switzerland	69,241	42,760	176,816	219,576	10,979	4,211
B. South and East Europe—						
Portugal	28,693	7,141	53,499	60,640	3,032	10,889
Spain	14,170	2,318	11,157	13,475	1,000	7,591
Italy	712,812	126,523	755,290	881,813	44,091	283,738
Russia	737,120	192,264	938,897	1,131,161	56,553	255,650
Finland	70,716	21,689	81,357	103,026	5,151	.....
Austria	609,347	149,914	826,635	976,549	48,827	134,831
Hungary	255,844	36,610	204,627	241,237	10,619	143,321
Roumania	27,835	8,014	21,801	29,815	1,491	4,032
Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro	17,524	821	1,234	2,055	1,000	9,189
Greece	74,975	4,946	8,401	13,347	1,000	35,832
Turkey in Europe	22,788	1,474	3,093	4,567	1,000	8,199
C. China and Japan—						
China	.....	a	22,130b	22,130a	1,107	2,502
Japan	.....	.....	24,391b	24,391	1,220	8,929

(a) Number naturalized in Hawaiian Islands, unknown but few.

(b) Native born in Hawaiian Islands included—Chinese 7,195, Japanese 19,889.

1 To avoid difficulties which would arise when a new Census was taken and to avoid any implied promise to permit larger numbers to be admitted when the total used as a basis in establishing the numbers fixed upon in the law, had increased by naturalization or by native birth.

As stated above, a comparison of columns VI and VII of this table shows only roughly the restrictive effects of such a general immigration law. To show the effects accurately the wives, children under sixteen years of age, and dependent relatives would have to be deducted from, and the non-immigrant aliens other than travelers, officials, students, and aliens returning to the United States within three years after leaving a residence acquired here, would have to be added to the figures given in column VII. Moreover, allowance would have to be made for those in Hawaii of foreign parentage in setting down the numbers in column VI, and that has been done only in the case of the Japanese and Chinese. On the whole the effect would be less restrictive than would appear from comparing the figures given. In the case of the Northwestern Europeans, there would be no restriction except possibly in one or two cases. With South and East Europeans, on the other hand, there would be considerable restriction in every case and in some cases the restriction would be drastic. In the case of Chinese and Japanese there would be no real change. Upon examination of the details relating to immigrants of those races admitted in 1913 it is found that 105 Chinese and 980 Japanese other than those in the excepted classes provided for in the suggested plan, were admitted to the United States and Hawaii.[1] The maximum number (1,000) of East Indians who might be admitted would be larger than the number (160) for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914." [2]

Second, is the proposition that once admitted into the country there should be no discrimination in the treatment of immigrants. Ths proposition is based upon the so well-established principle of American civilization that it requires no explanation. And if Japanese ask that justice and fairness be accorded to them as they are freely accorded to immigrants from other nations, America cannot very well refuse. The best way to apply the principle to Japanese residents is by changing the existing naturalization law

1 Details for the year 1913-1914 are not yet at hand.
2 Millis, Ibid., pp. 293-296.

so that those of them who qualify according to such revised law may become citizens of the United States. This will automatically do away with the existing discriminatory laws of several states since they are all based upon the non-eligibility of Japanese for citizenship. Moreover, that will remove the stronghold of anti-Japanese agitation. Votes will silence agitators. Besides there are two positive reasons for granting them the right of naturalization: First, the presence of unnaturalized aliens is undesirable to say the least, from the standpoint of the American nation. Second, the right will grant to those who seek, a permanent safeguard, and that in turn will enable them to strive for their own development. They will make contributions to American civilization as its loyal citizens. Give them a chance.

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